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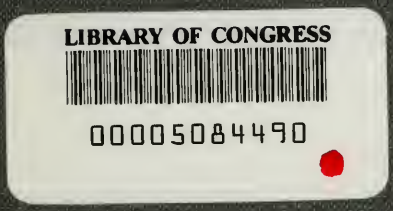

Rob. Means

THOUGHTS

IN

A SERIES OF LETTERS,

IN

ANSWER TO A QUESTION RESPECTING

THE

DIVISION OF THE STATES.

BY

A MASSACHUSETTS FARMER.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE writer of the following sheets, in expressing his opinion on this subject, has availed himself of the right of every freeman. Should he not have been so fortunate as to have fallen in with that of others, it will amount to no more than that he differs from them in opinion, which he conceives himself as having a right to do. In justice to himself for having touched on a subject so novel, and at the same time so important, he must be allowed to say, that he has not taken it up lightly, but from an impression of its necessity, being influenced by no person, and having had an opportunity of ocular demonstration of many of the facts stated; and while he submits his remarks to the ordeal of public opinion, he is ready to attend to any better reasons that might be given in support of this subject, or even to those shewing why it ought not to have been touched. But should this humble attempt be a mean of bringing it before the public, where it will be more ably handled, the labours of the writer will not be considered wholly in vain.

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LETTER I.

April 25, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

YOU ask my opinion with respect to the consequences of a division of the states, should an event of that kind take place. In answer to which, permit me to say, a question involving consequences of such magnitude is not susceptible of a direct answer, but requires deep thought, and the consideration of such a variety of subjects, as would almost preclude the hope that you would give me a patient hearing; but presuming on your candour, I shall with diffidence submit my thoughts on this subject; and should you conceive me in an error, I flatter myself you will attribute it to that of the head and not of the heart. Being aware of the delicacy of this subject, and the great importance that has deservedly been attached to the integrity of the states by our wisest and best men, and by no one more than your friend who now addresses you; but the time has arrived, when imperious necessity compels us to cast about for the cause of this complicated distress, that pervades our country from one end to the other, and inquire by what fatal spell we are hurried along to destruction; why despondency and dismay is depicted in every countenance; our frontier settlements drenched in the blood of its inhabitants; our commerce swept from the ocean; our merchants made bankrupt, while our seacoasts are blockaded from Rhode Island to the Missisippi; whence it is, that from the most enviable state of prosperity that ever a people enjoyed, as in the days of Washington, we are so soon reduced to such great straits. I am aware that all those men that are fattening on the distresses of the people, our army contractors, our navy agents, our military officers and salary men, together with a host of tide waiters, pimps, and spies, will raise their voice against

this inquiry, and style it an attempt to subvert our government; for this order of things is just what those men like; but to the farmer, the merchant, the tradesman, and the mechanic, who are suffering under the pressure of the times, this inquiry may not be displeasing. But, says one, who dares propose a division of the states? are we not in general agreed in the integrity of the states, although we may be divided on other political questions? To this I answer, Yes. And allow me here to premise, that the division here advocated is not a division of the original thirteen United States. No; palsied be the hand that would attempt to hold the pen to effect so vile a purpose. The division here advocated, is a division from the illegitimate states beyond the Allegany mountains and Louisiana, which are adverse to our prosperity; whose interests, habits, and pursuits are diverse from ours, and never can coalesce. I shall attempt to consider this subject under the following heads.

1st. As it respects its vast extent.

2d. As it respects its geographical situation.

3d. As it respects the evident design of Providence, manifested in its situation, product, and capacity.

4th. Inquire into the policy of uniting the country beyond the mountains with the thirteen states.

5th. Submit a few thoughts on the feasibility of the measure, as well as the probable safety to the thirteen states in effecting it.

6th. Attempt to give some reasons why a separation must take place, and the sooner it is effected the better.

First. In respect to its vast extent.

According to geographic calculation, the whole thirteen United States is to Louisiana as three to eight. When we consider the former extending from the province of Novascotia to the further part of Georgia, a distance of more that fifteen hundred miles, and on an average of more than two hundred in width, we cannot hesitate in determining that the thirteen states are quite large enough for a republican government. Hence the

observation of Washington on this subject, in his Valedictory Address; "Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let the experiment solve it." This was before Louisiana was contemplated to be added, and seemed to imply a doubt, in his mind, whether the thirteen United States was not too large for such a government as ours.

Secondly. As it respects its geographical situation.

When we consider the great extent of the thirteen United States, from southwest to northeast, producing so great variety of climate, furnishing almost every necessary and luxury, and in an abundant manner the most substantial articles of life. When we view the almost unbounded fisheries on the New England coast, which seem to be given us by the kind Author of nature in some measure to equalize our situation with our brethren in the south, in not being able to produce the more necessary article of bread stuff. When we consider the advantage derived from those fisheries, not only as a mean to sustain life and for commercial purposes, but to enable us to raise a hardy race of men, to traverse the ocean, and guard our extensive seacoast, as well as to take off their hands the surplusage of the south for our own consumption, while we carry the remainder to a foreign market. The south cannot say to the north, I have no need of thee, neither can the north say to the south, I have no need of thee; but each shall be compelled to acknowledge, that the original thirteen United States, from its situation and adaptation of circumstances to the various parts, carries irresistible evidence that it was designed to constitute one great whole, and that any addition would be redundant, and any diminution would effect its symmetry.

Having protracted, dear sir, my remarks beyond what I anticipated, I shall dismiss them for the present to resume when more at leisure, and remain, respectfully,

Yours, A MASSACHUSETTS FARMER.

LETTER II.

April 28.

DEAR SIR,

I shall now resume my subject, as was proposed, and make some remarks on the evident design of Providence manifested in the situation, product, and capacity of the thirteen United States. When we consider the wise adaptation of cause and effect, even in the minutest things in the natural world, shall we hesitate in our belief, that the all wise Being had not some design when he formed such stupendous mountains, running nearly parallel with our seacoast, and nearly two hundred miles distant from it, that they should describe some great national line of demarkation: more especially when we consider that those mountains are more than one hundred and thirty miles across them on an average, and generally unfit for cultivation,* allowing on the eastern side a country of nearly two hundred miles by more than fifteen hundred, for a vast republic, empire, or kingdom, intersected with navigable rivers, nearly all running from the back boundary toward the ocean, fitted for wafting its mighty products to the depots of commerce. When we view the community and reciprocity of interests of the different parts, calculated to bind each other together in the bands of friendship and commerce, can we form to ourselves a situation better adapted for the residence of a great and happy people, than that which is described within those limits? But to heighten the picture: view our extensive sea coast, which enables us not only to keep up an easy intercourse with each other, but to supply ourselves with all the productions of the globe. But how changed, completely changed, is the picture, when we pass this stupendous barrier of mountains and view on the other side nearly double the extent of territory, to that just described, possessing not an individual article that we want, as our inland country on this side the mountains and Canada, supply us with every necessary in abundance which that country produces, and is at present vastly too large

* The opinion of Capt. Hutchins, the American Geographer.

for our seaports, and probably will be so for near a century to come; but was there any thing we stood in need of from the country over the mountains, it could be transported as cheap from Europe as across those mountains. Then it will be asked, for what purpose was this vast annexation of territory, this unnatural connection? was it to comply with Thomas Jefferson's visionary theory? or to assist France with fifteen millions of dollars, "because she wanted it, and must have it?" as was said by a man high in power;* or was it, as it has proved, to create an extraneous influence favourable to the views of one ambitious state, by the erection of new states, in endless succession, totally different in habits, manners, and interests, bent on rendering nugatory to the more commercial states all the advantages their extensive seacoast gives them, and, like the dog in the manger, not suffer them to enjoy what they cannot enjoy themselves. Does not this annexation of territory violate the great original compact, and totally change our relative situation as a nation; and instead of a whole, powerful, and independent people, are we not rendered, even now, in this early period of our national existence, by the assistance of a few intriguing men among ourselves, but an insignificant part, and by their dictation in our concerns, they have no interest in, and know nothing about; the northern states are, and will be, subject to nothing but distress and embarrassment. An eminent modern civilian speaking on this subject, of the admission of Louisiana into the union, says, "the indifference with which that usurpation of power has been viewed, is an event as astonishing as it is ominous. Notwithstanding the general nature of the terms of the constitution relative to the admission of new states, there is not a shadow of pretence from the history of the period, and the known state of public opinion at the time of its adoption, that the admission of any states was contemplated, or authorized, except those within the ancient limits."†

* James Madison.

† Hon. JOSIAH QUINCY, in his late address to the W. B. Society

"But if this has been done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?" If three or four states have been able to produce such distress in the thirteen, what may not be expected when their number shall have increased to from twenty to thirty, on that side the mountains? which in all probability will be the case; and to judge from what we have already experienced of their hostility to the interests of the commercial states, our prospect is alarming beyond description. Have we not witnessed in the members in Congress beyond the mountains a steady persevering disposition, though not all with the same degree of tenacity, to prostrate our commerce, which has been too well effected by the assistance of Virginia, and a few northern men, who have been unnaturally duped into their ranks.

Fourthly. I shall now inquire into the policy of uniting together so vast a territory as the original thirteen United States, with the Western country and Louisiana.

A republican government, the nature of which being mild, is much less calculated for a very extensive country than any other. A more despotic, where the remote parts are governed by viceroys or satraps, is better suited to such a vast territory; but in ours, where general opinion governs, it is necessary that the people should be less extended, and more enlightened, and that there should be some similarity in their manners, habits, and pursuits. But this vast territory is composed of a heterogeneous mixture, of French, Spanish, Creoles, and some of almost every nation under heaven; many whose ideas are violently opposed to a republican government, "harbouring in its bosom the latent seeds of its own dissolution." Have we not witnessed already one of the most daring conspiracies ever conceived, set on foot in that same country by Aaron Burr? and from the great distance from the seat of government, and partly owing to the criminal inattention of Mr. Jefferson, after being warned by Gen. Eaton, whom this arch traitor let into his plan, and laboured to seduce, had got nearly ripe for execution. This

conspiracy appeared to have had for its object, not only the separation of the western states, and the conquest of the Spanish territory, bordering on our southern frontier, but the subversion of our government. It appeared that this same Aaron Burr had pre-engaged a great number of choice spirits, who were to move in concert with him. But being betrayed by some of his supposed friends, and finding so formidable a force prepared to meet him, on different parts of the Missisippi, and more especially at New Orleans, this sly intriguer found himself obliged to relinquish his military project; and the better to cover his treasonable designs, his flotilla arrived in that country with a company whose only weapons were those of agriculture. But should this unnatural, Jeffersonian, Frenchified connection subsist, we may anticipate, and that before a very remote period, that part of the country beyond the mountains, by their representatives in Congress, will move to have the seat of our government in a more central situation, and much nearer themselves; its present situation not having been taken with reference to that country, but is nearly central as it respects the thirteen United States: and it does not admit of a doubt, that should not a separation take place, it will be removed over the mountains, perhaps on the river Ohio. Let no one think this a chimera, for as soon as it can be effected by a vote it will assuredly take place. But to take another view of the subject; the thirteen United States, except Vermont, may all be still called commercial states; some are more so, owing to local circumstances, than others, but those beyond the mountains are necessarily agricultural; manufacturing their own clothing, making their own spirit from their grain, and can supply us with no article that we want; and can have no reciprocity of interests; and, from the principles of our nature, must always have a jealousy of our commercial prosperity, in which they cannot participate. But should any one want a better reason, experience will furnish it, in the unanimous attempts that have been made in our councils, by

their members, to destroy our commerce and prosperity. Look at the hollow pretences these members in Congress have made for declaring and continuing war. The pretence now is, "the British capture our seamen:" and one of their members carried the ridiculous farce so far as to affect to shed tears, while he pitifully, in a borrowed ditty, chanted their sufferings;* when it is doubtful whether there is one seaman in confinement on board a British ship from their whole country; and not one native inhabitant out of a hundred ever saw a ship of any kind. But, dear sir, lest I should exhaust your patience, I shall now subscribe myself, with much respect, Yours, &c.

LETTER III.

May 2.

DEAR SIR,

Presuming on your patience, I shall submit a few thoughts on the feasibility of a separation from the western country and Louisiana, without hazarding the safety of our country.

When we reflect on the short time that has elapsed since the thirteen United States received into the union those states beyond the Allegany mountains, we could hardly have expected that they would have arrived to such a pitch of hostility against the measures and prosperity of the commercial states, as to have put in requisition every measure for their destruction, and to have rendered necessary a separation. Will any one object and say, they will be troublesome neighbours when separated, living so near our border? this same objection will apply with equal force, should our borders be ever so far removed, unless we extend them to the Western Ocean. Have we ever suffered any inconvenience from our neighbours in Canada, till we declared an offensive war against them? Can any one suppose there would ever be any danger from that quarter to produce much anxiety, notwithstanding nature has not furnished such a bar-

* Henry Clay, of Kentucky.

rier between us as between the western country and the thirteen states? Does it admit of doubt whether the limits of our country, consisting of the thirteen states, is large enough for the purpose of offence and defence, should it be found necessary? Can it be rationally supposed that we are not in ten times the danger from a settled, determined opposition to the measures by which we pursue our interests and prosperity, than from a separation? Can it be supposed that the western country and Louisiana will ever consent to assist in maintaining such a navy as would be thought necessary to protect our commerce and establish our rank among the maritime powers? Or is it not more probable, that all their measures will be contrived to depress and embarrass us, that we may be compelled to find an asylum with themselves beyond the mountains, as was lately hinted by one of their chieftains in Congress.* The thirteen states appear to be much in the predicament of a benevolent merchant, with a large family, who took a needy stranger into his house, who solicited his assistance, which after obtaining, began to usurp authority, and to prescribe to him and his family their pursuits and pleasures, and succeeded so well (his host being a peaceable man) that with threats and persuasions, he prevailed on him to admit three or four more of his comrades into his family also, who had all been brought up to cultivating the earth and making whiskey. Soon after their admission, having gained considerable ascendency, they insisted that their host should quit his mercantile way of living, and join them in the more laborious and less profitable occupation of raising corn and making it into whiskey; alleging, that they had not been brought up to mercantile pursuits, and that they, being a majority, ought to govern. The host, wearied with his situation, and perceiving that things were every day growing worse and worse, determined (his family uniting with him) to turn them all out of doors, and to resume the government of himself and family, and fol-

* Henry Clay.

low their former pursuits and pleasures. No one that has been an attentive observer of what has taken place, more especially in the lower house of our national council, for several years past, will say that the portraiture has not some resemblance to the original. You ask, my friend, what is to be done? we say, shake off immediately this unnatural connection, before, by a delay, it assumes a strength and compactness, produced very much by our distresses, that shall make the solution of this question depend more on themselves than justice or sound policy would warrant. Shall it be said that we shall lose the money with which Louisiana was purchased? Be it so. Our first loss will be the easiest surmounted; and, in comparison with a connection with this people, as the dust in the balance. To those states we owe our nonintercourse, embargo, nonimportation, and, last of all, this calamitous war: and this is but the beginning of our sorrows. The European war, under a wise administration, would have been very propitious to our prosperity, and would have accelerated the growth of our country beyond any other circumstance that could have taken place; instead of which, it has been so managed, as to become a powerful engine of the destruction of our country. While we lament so many of our legitimate brethren in the southern states, through an unwarrantable jealousy, have mistaken their true interests, and have acted with those from whom we had less to expect: yet we feel the cheering consolation, that there is a goodly number that have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal, that have not suffered this jealousy to destroy the harmony that their and our Washington was so sedulous in cultivating; and that, united, we shall yet rally round the standard of his erection, and fulfil his affectionate wishes for our joint prosperity, expressed in his Farewell Address, that the North and South should be united. He says:

"The north in an unrestrained intercourse with the south, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great addi-

tional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry; the south, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the north, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand, turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the north, it finds its particular navigation invigorated, and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted."*

Notice this last sentence. With what force the foregoing observations address themselves to the south, under the present pressure by the British fleets, which at the present moment infest their bays and rivers. Is there any relief to be obtained for the south from the states beyond the mountains? Is not the north adapted exclusively to afford it. We in the north are still unwilling to believe, that a Jefferson, a Madison, a Giles, or an Eppes, are a standard, by which to estimate the disposition of our brethren in the south; we more incline to believe it ought to be settled, by what we ourselves feel vibrating in our own bosoms, produced by the unity in that great struggle, in which we bled, and in which we obtained our independence. Not so the western country, and Louisiana; those we are obliged to view as aliens, and from their conduct for several years past, not as alien friends. The annexation of that country, was a measure opposed at the time by the most enlightened statesmen of our country, as well on political considerations, as on account of the enormous price that was paid for it; but since it has been purchased, and the thirteen states has paid more than nineteen twentieths of the purchase, sound policy would dictate the parting with it, as a man would part with a gangrene limb to save his life. But it is by no means certain that the people of the western states and Louisiana, would not also wish for a separation from us; many of the same reasons operate with them, that have already been mentioned to

* Washington's Farewell Address.

influence us; the same extensive chain of mountains, offer themselves to them, as well as to us; their rivers running from those mountains and us to the majestic Ohio and Missisippi, and from the lakes on the west, which mighty outlet receives the rivers from each side, and extending more than eighteen hundred miles to the ocean, and may be improved to carry their vast products to market, besides being amply provided with territory for a great nation; here their chiefs may find scope for that spirit of dictation, in concerns they better understand, than commercial regulations and seamen's rights, with which they have been with so much reluctance occupied. But, dear sir, leaving them to discover their own advantages, I shall with much esteem subscribe myself,

Yours, &c.

LETTER IV.

May 6.

DEAR SIR,

I shall now attempt to give some reasons why a separation, sooner or later, must take place, between the United States and the western country and Louisiana, and endeavour to shew that the sooner it takes place, the easier it will be effected. It may here be proper to premise, that little more may be expected in this number than a recapitulation of what has been noticed under former heads.

1st, The vast extent of country, over which our jurisdiction extends, may be a good reason for a separation, more especially, as our government is Republican, rendering necessary a similarity of political principles, manners and habits.

2dly. The geographical situation, giving the thirteen states a large sufficiency of territory, included within almost insurmountable barriers of mountains, of one hundred and thirty miles over, which separate the thirteen states from the western country and Louisiana, operates as another reason why they should be considered a line

of separation between us. Another reason may be, that the country beyond the mountains produces no article but what we have in our own in abundance, but if otherwise, and we wanted any of their produce, it would be too expensive to obtain it from them.

3dly, Another reason for a separation which may be considered as paramount to all others; which I conceive to be the totally different pursuits of the two countries, theirs principally are agricultural and manufacturing, ours are maritime and commercial, employing vast capitals in our fisheries, standing in need of a navy for our protection, which they view with abhorrence, and we may expect never will be willing to help support. It is for their interest, and we have already experienced their disposition, as far as they have any influence, to produce distress and embarrassment on our side the mountains, that we should cross them to settle theirs. It is presumed that no one will think this an uncharitable suggestion, that has witnessed their late conduct; and do we not find them zealous in increasing their states, to give them influence in our councils, evidently, that they may dictate our measures? Whence is it, that they have been so urgent in declaring war, and in all the baleful measures that preceded and introduced it, but to increase the pressure on the commercial states? do we not see the effect of this animosity and jealousy increase with every session of Congress? and to judge from present appearances, it cannot be long before it will break out in open hostility. The present season appears peculiarly favourable, to produce that conviction, which is necessary to bring about so important a change. The many circumstances calculated, not only to address our reason, but our senses, may not happen again till the difficulty of effecting this necessary purpose, may be very much increased. the operation of the war on the southern states must produce the conviction of the necessity of a navy, and of their union with the northern, who are exclusively calculated to shield them from the dangers their peculiar situation

exposed them from the maritime force of European powers; and must impress them equally with the inefficiency of the states over the mountains to afford this aid; it abundantly proves, what our maritime situation suggests, and our recent experience has taught, that a navy is our principal resource; it by no means follows, that this separation will produce a war with the western country and Louisiana. They may have their reasons to wish for a separation from us, no doubt a very material one will be the circumstance, of being obliged to assist in supporting a naval force, almost exclusively designed for our benefit, together with our relinquishment of the territory in which we are joint owners; added to that of passing those vast mountains into our region, for the purposes of legislation, which from New Orleans is near two thousand miles, besides the general inapplicability of the same laws to the situation of people, extended over so vast a territory, so differently occupied and situated. But another circumstance may have its weight in producing that friendly disposition toward each other, that would be so desirable in two nations bordering on each other, that of having little, or no competition, in those pursuits wherein we acquire wealth; we should be in infinitely less danger, from their not being a maritime people, as well as having our boundaries so far removed from each other. Should that country establish a Republican government, there would be little danger of collision with us, perhaps the least of any two people on earth; but should that ever happen, we have no great reason to fear the result. The idea that we must extend our government over a whole continent to render ourselves safe from bad neighbours, is a chimera formed in the head of Thomas Jefferson, whose visionary fancy led him to believe also, that nations might be reasoned into a discharge of their duty to each other, without possessing the power to coerce them, which may appear plausible to some, in theory, but will never do in practice.

Having trespassed, dear sir, already too much on your patience, shall dismiss the subject at present, and subscribe myself sincerely, Yours, &c.

LETTER V.

May 10.

DEAR SIR,

In my former epistles having used divers arguments to shew that the original thirteen states are large enough for the purpose of a Republican government, and given some reasons to shew, that sound policy dictated a speedy separation from the states beyond the Allegany mountains and Louisiana, shall in this make use of another argument derived from a view of the comparative difference in the contribution toward the support of government between the single state of Massachusetts, and the states of Kentucky, Tennesee, and the Ohio, for the last ten years, to wit, from the year 1800, to 1810, inclusive, "taken from a report made by the secretary of the treasury of the United States, on the 28th of February 1812, in pursuance of a resolution of the House of Representatives, and printed by their order." This report was taken from 1791, to 1810, but I have taken only the last ten years, beginning at 1801.

	Massachusetts.	Kentucky.	Tennessee.	Ohio.
1801	$ 2,929,753,15	807,59	512,49	
1802	1,525,909,86	1,222,31	74,74	
1803	2,490,530,68	1,416,57		
1804	3,630,931,24			
1805	3,308,046,44			4,821,30
1806	3,524,326,92			883,09
1807	3,576,674,15			
1808	1,184 921,95			
1809	1,384,749,28			
1810	2,774,226,34			170,58
	$ 26,330,070,01	3,446.47.	587,23	5,874,97

Notwithstanding the commercial prosperity for the last ten years has been so cramped, by the oppressive, restrictive measures of government, which have been almost

the whole time in operation, yet the single state of Massachusetts, has paid into the public treasury, near twenty-six millions and a half of dollars, while the states of Kentucky, Tennesee, and the Ohio, all three together, in the same period of ten years, have paid only $9.908.57, which sum is scarcely worth the trouble of collecting. Yet Kentucky sends ten representatives to congress, Tennesee six, Ohio six, and six senators, making, in the whole, twenty-eight votes; and it will not be long before the Indiana, Michigan, and Missisippi Territories, will be admitted into the union, as separate states, as well as a great number out of Louisiana, all alike unproductive, in bearing the general burden of supporting our national government; and it will not be long before the yoke will be so fixed on our necks, as will require some considerable effort to shake it off. But when we speak of this country, we must except from the general charge, a great many individuals whom we would embrace in the arms of our affection; whose voice against the measures that are pursuing, "are hushed" by the violence of party, produced by a comparatively small number of demagogues, who, like a mighty torrent, bear down all before them; the former, we should consider a valuable acquisition on our side the mountains.

The advantage gained by the slave holding states in the original compact, in allowing the owner of every five slaves three votes, is such an one, as those states who have abolished slavery, consider unjust in principle and practice, and ought to be altered in a constitutional way, by a revision of that instrument. But, since it is a feature in that sacred compact, I conceive that policy would dictate, that we should give it a longer trial; and, could we be disincumbered of that ponderous burden beyond the mountains, we might not find the operation of this great inequality so injurious; but, both together, will be like a millstone about the neck of the commercial states, more intolerable, than any thing short of being a province of the tyrant of France, and is not to be endured.

But, dear sir, having already made too great a trial of your patience, being so unexpectedly diffuse on this subject, should I have contributed to your amusement, it must be much more owing to the novelty of the subject, than to the ability with which it has been handled. Give me now leave with much sincerity to say, that I have no ambition greater than in possessing a share in your friendship, whilst I enjoy the retirement of a

MASSACHUSETTS FARMER.

LETTER VI.

May 13.

DEAR SIR,

I consider the question of separation from the western country, and Louisiana, in comparison with our other party differences, as Aaron's rod among those of the magicians, which ought to swallow up those serpents that have bitten, and stung us, till we are almost assimilated to their likeness. This question addresses itself with equal force to both parties, and imperiously calls on them to unite, and consult on its merits. Where is the honest man of either party, that would not wish for a grand central point, where we might all meet in friendship, and unite in opposing invasion, from whatever quarter we may be assailed? for be assured, this centrifugal motion by which we are propelled, will land us ere long in the vortex of ruin. But, we have reason to fear we have men among us who would represent this attempt as seditious and wicked, having anarchy for its object; but, dear sir, should any vile libeller suggest such an idea, examine for yourself the man, whether he is of a good moral character, who has been initiated in the old Washington principles, that effected our revolution; or whether himself, or his friends, are not deriving some advantage from the present order of things; or rather, whether he has not acquiesced in all the measures under which our country is now "bleeding at every pore." If the latter should be the case, let his pretensions be what

they may, he is an enemy, and leagued with those who are seeking the destruction of the commercial states. I ask, for what purpose is this wanton, cruel, and unreasonable war, against a people, who have been earnestly seeking to be on friendly terms with us, in every way compatible with saving to themselves their own subjects: disclaiming having any right to the services of Americans, they alleged, that their existence depended on keeping their own subjects, and it was a right recognized by every maritime nation, and that there was not the minister that would dare give it up. The first and prime object of inveterate hatred, of those who hold the destinies of our country, is commerce; the hatred indulged toward Great Britain is trivial in comparison to this. Commerce is considered as giving the commercial states their consequence, as well as Great Britain; against commerce every deadly blow has been levelled. The next object of their implacable hatred, is a navy; they may now, to cover the most foul disgrace that ever attached to any people on earth, in prosecuting the war against Canada, awkwardly attempt to chant hosannahs to a navy, but a navy is what they abhor; and as soon as they shall not stand in need of a navy, to amuse the people, a navy will more sincerely share in their anathemas, and they will wish every ship of war sunk to the bottom of the ocean. Is this too much to believe of a government, who, in spite of every remonstrance to the contrary, are persevering, with steady, unrelenting aim, at the destruction of every thing the commercial states hold dear to them? no change of circumstances can make any alterations in their conduct. While they are carrying war and devastation into the country of the unoffending Canadians, they are tantalizing us with overtures of peace with Great Britain; but the means of effecting it is of a piece with the rest of their deceptive conduct, and belies their pretensions, while it betrays their insincerity. Albert Gallatin, a man in every respect a Frenchman, who is known to be in principle hostile to Great Britain, is sent to the court of Russia, and

through her mediation it seems a peace is expected; when admiral Warren is on the spot, who has announced to our government, that he has full powers to settle with us our differences: such absurdity is sufficient to shock the understanding, and, on so important a subject, fill us with alarm and dismay. But the day begins to dawn, the honest of that party, who for the want of that knowledge which would have enabled them to have judged more correctly, are flocking to the standard of Washington and their country. New-Hampshire, which has been lately democratic, is entirely renovated, having each branch federal; Massachusetts stands erect, having purged her legislature of those Gerrymandering desperate men, that threatened their destruction; repealing those acts that two years ago threatened the prostration of every thing valuable in the commonwealth, under the administration of Mr. Gerry. Rhode-Island, Connecticut, and we may say New York, Vermont, Delaware, and Maryland, are nearly all changed, and we anticipate from the great change that is taking place in Virginia, that the time is not very far distant, when we shall again embrace our elder sister, and, like two friends that have fallen out, have an increased affection to each other.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The subject contained in the foregoing sheets are with much diffidence offered to the public, rather as an introduction of a subject, that every day's experience offers additional reason to contemplate. Should this feeble attempt be the means of introducing it where it may be handled with much more ability, the end of the writer will be fully answered. He could not however discern any ill consequences from the attempt to excite a spirit of inquiry. Should there be any danger from the discussion, it is conceived to be in its having a tendency to check the intolerance complained of, when the disposition remains, and is gathering strength, more effectually to operate against us ; an undisguised sample of which we have had an opportunity of witnessing. But it requires all we have suffered, and it is to be feared a little more, owing to a general apathy, to rouse us to that spirit, that appears to be necessary to effect so important a purpose. Does any want a better reason for this change, than that the country over the mountains heartily acquiesce in the measures that has produced this distress in the Atlantic states, and were the most efficient cause of effecting it, and from a number of circumstances appear rather the effect of an inherent disposition than mistake. To a true American, the union of the states has deservedly had a peculiar charm, and some have appeared to suppose, that like the wand of the magician, it would shield them from every danger: but if this union is experienced, through certain deleterious qualities a part possesses, to be destructive to the rest, it must be given up. The copartnership must be dissolved, to prevent one of the concern from destroying the other. But when we consider the joint stock, when divided, quite sufficient to be improved separately, and from the nature of it consisting princi-

pally in real estate, and lying in two different hemispheres, it would seem that both might be benefited by a dissolution which would enable each to improve his stock or estate in his own way. But very different is the case between the states on this side of the mountains, who resemble a large family, bound together by the ties of consanguinity; who, having a large patrimony left them, lying in the same region, which estate being entailed, provides, that it should be improved jointly by the heirs. Should a difference happen, each one would find it for his interest to make advances toward a settlement, and no one would be likely to be influenced, either by jealousy or caprice, to embarrass the improvement of the estate, as the promotion of all their interests depends on the best manner in which it could be improved. Not so the other concern; living at a great distance, having no natural relationship, and scarcely an acquaintance; possessing an implacable jealousy, whose interest it is to prevent us from even fencing our land, to keep out the wild and tame beasts, from devouring all our crop, after we have fallowed and sowed our grounds.

Should any be of an opinion, who live in the middle states, that they shall lose their customers over the mountains by this separation, I would reply to them by asking, whether they suppose America trades less with Great Britain, or any European power, for being another nation? and whether the argument is not rather in favour of keeping a better understanding with them, by supplying them with foreign goods through our own market? The desire of the writer is not to impare but to strengthen the ligaments that hold the thirteen states together, he having as deep a stake in the consequences of the measures of government, as a large family of children would be supposed to give him; his aim has been to conciliate the two parties, and unite the honest and well meaning, by directing their attention to a particular point by which we may obtain the object of our wishes, peace and prosperity. Should not this devoutly wished for end be accomplished, he has the

consolation arising from a conviction of having made an honest attempt. He is well aware there are divers opinions on this subject. Some suppose we ought to wait till the western country and Louisiana propose a separation from us; but we will suppose that should not take place, and we shall think a separation necessary; what is to be done? It may be said, that should this proposal be made by the federalists, there are those who, like Jezebel, would cry treason! treason! and would try to fix a stigma on that party for so doing; which seems to presume (what has not been conceded) that no circumstances can make a separation necessary. But should we wait till all those disappointed, desperate men, of that party, who are now acquiescing in this wicked war, should harmonize with us, we might wait till the millennial state should have cured the evil disposition of mankind. As well might it be made a reason, why the Gospel should not be preached, because the evil spirits with their influence would be in danger of counteracting it. But this is no party question, further than its having been proposed by a federalist; and it was proposed in the hope of being instrumental in uniting, in sentiment and pursuit, the original thirteen states, which appears to be the last hope of our country.

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